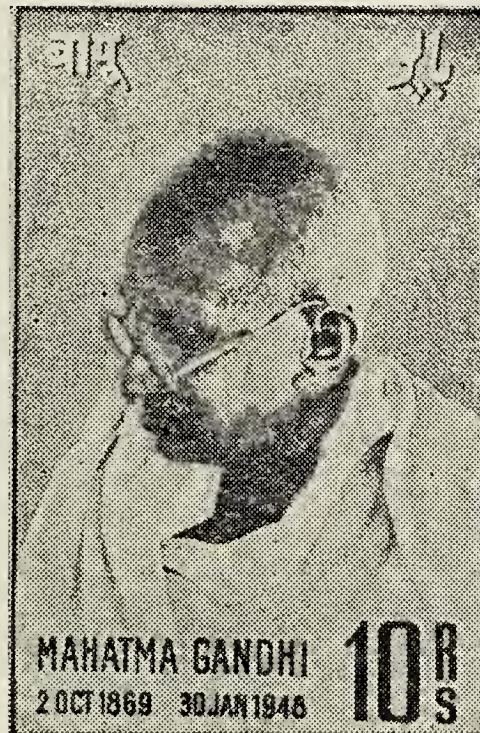


MAHATMA GANDHI AND THE U. S. A.

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Pasupuleti Gopala Krishnayya

New York

1949

AN ORIENT AND WORLD PUBLICATION

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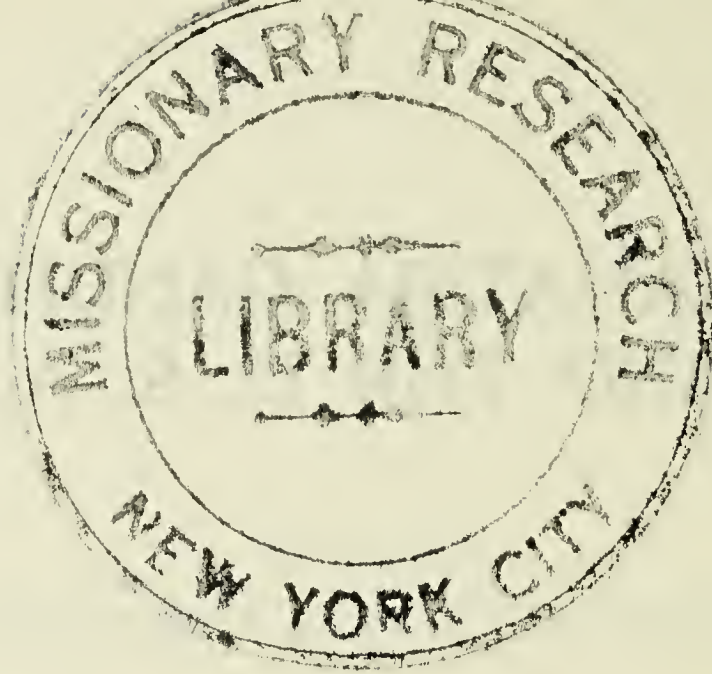
MAHATMA GANDHI AND THE U. S. A.

EDITED BY
PASUPULETI GOPALA KRISHNAYYA

NEW YORK

AN ORIENT AND WORLD PUBLICATION

1949



I humbly dedicate this book

to

MY FATHER

RAO BAHUDUR PASUPULETI VENKETA KRISHNAYYA
NAIDU GARU

Mayor of Guntur, Vice President Guntur District Board
and Professor at A.E.L.M. College, Guntur—The most
outstanding publicman in our part of India during his
times

and

MY MOTHER

JAYALAXHMI AMMA GARU

A great and understanding lady

CONTENTS

* * *

	Page
Preface	1
Washington	3
Governors	10
Press	18
Public	37



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PREFACE

It was the early twenties and Mahatma Gandhi had just begun his task of bringing freedom to India. At that time a pastor in a New York City church called John Haynes Holmes preached a sermon in which he said that the Mahatma was the greatest living man of his times and ended it thus—"When I think of Gandhi I think of Christ." This sermon was a revelation to us, the Indians. Till then we were sure of Gandhi's greatness but it was an American who pointed out to us the unique character and personality of the man of destiny of modern India. By the way, Dr. Holmes, who has been one of the keenest students of Gandhi's life for the last thirty years, met the Mahatma for the first time face to face just a few weeks before his assassination.

Since Dr. Holmes' famous sermon on Gandhi Americans had taken the most lively interest about him. I believe that Gandhi was the best known foreigner in this country. He was universally known. Many Americans became his champions and thus the champions of the cause of freedom for India. I will quote just a few instances. I remember the great and wonderful lady

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt while she was still in the White House writing in her column about Hitler and Gandhi and saying most emphatically that the former was a wrong kind of mystic while the latter was the right kind. Also some time after Pearl Harbor Louis Fischer after returning from a trip to India defended the Mahatma in the press, on radio and platform from attacks by critics who were making out that the Mahatma was a Japanese appeaser.

When death came to the Mahatma he received notices here comparable only to that given to the late President F. D. Roosevelt.

Before closing I want to tender my thanks to the following persons for their special contributions in this volume through personal letters to me: Ex Speaker of the House Joseph W. Martin, Senator Claude Pepper, Their Excellencies Governors Folsom of Alabama, Warren of California, Robins of Idaho, Ralph F. Gates of Indiana, Dwight Green of Illinois, Frank Carlson of Kansas, Horace Hildreth of Maine, W. Preston Lane of Maryland, Thomas J. Marby of New Mexico, J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, Mon C. Wallgren of Washington, Beauford H. Jester of Texas, Clarence W. Meadows of West Virginia and Oscar Rannebohm of Wisconsin. Also many others including newspaper publishers and editors and public men who had a part in bringing this out.

WASHINGTON

Gandhi was a great Indian nationalist, but at the same time was a leader of international stature. His teachings and his actions have left a deep impression on millions of people.

He was and is revered by the people of India and his influence was felt not only in affairs of government but also in the realm of the spirit. Unhappily he did not live to witness the full realization of those ideals for which he struggled. But his life and his work will be, through the years to come, the greatest monument to him. His selfless struggle for the betterment of his people, will, I am sure, endure as an example of India's leaders, many of whom are his disciples.

I know not only the peoples of India, but all peoples will be inspired by his sacrifice to work with increased vigor toward the brotherhood and peace which the Mahatma symbolized.

As a teacher and leader, his influence made

itself felt not only in India but everywhere in the world, and his death brings great sorrow to all peace loving people. Another giant among men has fallen in the cause of brotherhood and peace. I know that the peoples of Asia will be inspired by his tragic death to strive with increased determination to achieve the goals of cooperation and mutual trust for which the Mahatma has now given his life.

President Harry S. Truman

Mahatma Gandhi's death is an international tragedy.

Vice President Alben B. Barkley

It is tragic that this death has come at a time of tension and crises, when toleration is so badly needed. We earnestly hope that his martyrdom will inspire the peoples of the United Nations to press forward with greater determination the ideals for which he stood.

Warren Austin.

The wanton deed which took Gandhi from the world was such a cruel blow against the forces of good in the world we are all mourners with his own immediate people. But if we really cherish his nobility and understand his significance, we owe the exertion of our will and the integrity

of our purposes to be dedicated to the ends of human brotherhood for which he so signally gave his life enduringly to mankind.

Justice Felix Frankfurter.

The whole world is grieved over the death of Mahatma Gandhi, who was a world figure and who made a rich contribution to the spiritual life of men everywhere.

The world is a better world for his having lived, but the greatness of this extraordinary man will not die with him. The spirit of Mahatma Gandhi will live and grow and his influence will increase with the years. Those things he lived for, those doctrines of man's innate goodness, and those precepts of brotherly love which he taught and lived for and for which he gave his life will be a source of increasing inspiration to the people not only of his own country, but of the whole world. A great human spirit lives on though his body has returned to dust. Just as the evil of men persists in its influences on humanity, so the goodness of men equally persists.

*Dr. Henry Grady,
first U. S. Ambassador in India.*

Like the great men of all ages, his death has released him from certain physical restrictions which in life confined him. Thus it has been

possible for his enduring personality to become an international heritage. The most fitting tribute to his memory today would be a re-dedication of all of us to the cause of world peace and unity to which he devoted his life.

*Loy Henderson,
American Ambassador to India.*

Nothing more revolting has occurred in the history of the modern world than the senseless assassination of the venerable man. He had come through time and the circumstances of his oft-repeated ideologies to be regarded as the very symbol and hypothesis of peace. That he should die by violence is one of those bitter anachronisms that seems to refute all logic.

In the evolution of civilization, if it is to survive, all men cannot fail eventually to adopt his belief that the process of mass application of force to resolve contentious issues is fundamentally not only wrong but contains within itself the germs of self-destruction.

Gandhiji, however, was one of those prophets who lived far ahead of the times.

Gen. Douglas MacArthur.

Mahatma Gandhi won honor and esteem in all America as a world leader for peace. Devoted intensely to the welfare and progress of

his own people, he yet never wavered from the principles of peace in quest of selfish national advantage. Ever true to his own noble heritage, he was the benefactor of all mankind. His life was a career of service to a cause which always has had too few disciples in the hot, throbbing highways of our work-a-day world. He lived the great rule that a soft answer turneth away wrath.

*Joseph W. Martin, Jr., Ex Speaker,
House of Representatives, Washington.*

The U.S.A. has been shocked by the tragic news of the passing of Mahatma Gandhi and shares with India the heavy burden of sorrow and loss. The bereavement felt in this country is the evidence of the close ties between the peoples of U.S.A. and India.

Mahatma Gandhi was the spokesman for the conscience of all mankind.

General George C. Marshall.

The peace loving people of America pay homage to the memory of one of the greatest persons of our times, Mahatma Gandhi. His long struggle for a free India through peaceful means will be long remembered by the American people. Passive resistance during the lifetime of Mahatma Gandhi has become a common phrase on the lips of every American.

Today India has its freedom, a monument to the Mahatma.

Senator Claude Pepper.

The tragic death of Mahatma Gandhi is an irretrievable loss to mankind particularly at a time when the world is in such need of spiritual leadership to surmount the grave problems besetting the peoples. He was a man of peace and as such exemplified the highest principles of the United Nations. We mourn his passing and hope his sacrifice may serve to further the lofty ideals to which he dedicated his life. Please convey to your Government and people of India our deep sympathy.

Byron Price.

There is no doubt Gandhi had great spiritual qualities and the one only hope, even though he is not with his people, is that his influence will grow to help them through the years. This same influence had much of value to give to the rest of the world and one hopes the very violence of his death will turn people away from violence.

Eleanor Roosevelt.

Mahatma Gandhi put spiritual values into everything he did and, more and more, the world is beginning to see that it is the things of the

spirit which ultimately have the greatest influence.

Senator Elbert D. Thomas.

In the passing of the great disciple Gandhi, our common manhood has lost a kinsman. Probably no man since Christ has more devoutly or literally followed and lived out the teachings of the master of men than he whose memory we honour to-day. He was held in esteem and regard throughout the civilised world. Conscious of the greatness of his mission, he sacrificed himself for others imposing on himself rigid restrictions. Abstaining from fleshly lust which was against the soul, he truly walked with God in the world. With many great powers reverting to the law of the jungle, this man of God turned the sword of the spirit which is the word of God.

Senator Charles Tobey.

Gandhiji was one of the deathless few across the centuries, who have lifted human character to immortal authority . . . who made humility and simple truth more powerful than empires . . .

Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg.

GOVERNORS

I think it is befitting that a book be compiled which will show something of the great esteem in which Americans held the great Mahatma Gandhi.

He was one of the outstanding citizens of the world who believed that the word is mightier than the sword—that good can overcome evil.

Because we lived in his time, makes it hard to properly evaluate his greatness, but I am sure that the passing centuries will elevate him to a fine and definite rank among the half-dozen greatest men who ever lived.

*Governor James E. Folsom,
State of Alabama.*

The assassination of Gandhi is a world tragedy because it deprives his millions of followers of the spiritual leadership which he has given them through the years. It removes from the world by cowardly act a powerful force for world peace. Gandhi was essentially a man of peace and

in spite of his advanced age was still devoting his entire life to that cause.

*Governor Earl Warren.
State of California.*

One of the greatest men of all time, Mahatma Gandhi symbolized to millions the true meaning of peace. That peace in our time is possible without violence was displayed by the greatness of Gandhi on several occasions.

To the world he gave an object lesson that all would do well to observe.

*Governor C. A. Robins,
State of Idaho.*

It is indeed an honor, as Governor of the State of Indiana, to be allowed to contribute my statement, along with the many others which you will receive in eulogy to the memory of Mahatma Gandhi.

Outside of his own native country of India, I am sure this beloved little man had as many, if not more, true admirers in the United States than in any other country in the world. Americans, from the birth of this nation on, have hated tyranny and loved peace. Mahatma Gandhi, during his life time, became the world's foremost disciple of peace. He was truly a great leader of his people. Instead of allowing the power to go

to his head, as the rulers of so many countries have done throughout history, he remained humble and sincere. He ruled his people with love instead of power. They believed in him, and followed his teachings to his death.

His passing was a severe loss to the people of India, and also to the people of the world. I am sure, however, that his sincerity, his devotion to his people, his devout religious beliefs, his love, and his devotion to the welfare of his people, will live on in memory throughout the years to come.

With sincerest reverence to his achievements and memory, and with avowed respect, I am

*Governor Ralph F. Gates.
State of Indiana.*

Mahatma Gandhi was a great spiritual and political leader whose influence grew with the years. His renown was worldwide. Seeking nothing for himself, he sought to unite men in brotherhood. The memory of his unselfish and devoted life will be a continuing inspiration to his countrymen.

*Governor Dwight H. Green,
State of Illinois.*

To create a history of the life and works of the Grand Old Man of India, Mahatma Gandhi,

is certainly a laudable undertaking, and will give an intimate insight to his character.

His calm philosophy and spiritual integrity have undoubtedly had a profound effect, not only upon his native India, but upon the entire world. His life was devoted to peace and good-will among all men. The world will feel the impact of his life for many generations of the future.

*Governor Frank Carlson,
State of Kansas.*

So long as men of great faith are remembered, Mahatma Gandhi will be recorded among the foremost.

No man of modern times has shown greater devotion to a cause, an unquenchable desire to help his people, nor has any shown comparable willingness toward self-sacrifice.

Where Gandhi could make his influence felt, peace was assured. His appeal was in leadership inspired by faith. He performed no miracles but he moved men as few leaders of history have done. Wisdom was his wealth; he needed no other.

Gandhi was a man of good will. With all its advanced science and technical skills, the western world has produced none save Lincoln who so exemplified the power of simple faith as has

this immortal man of India. The family of nations needs many of his zeal if ever the force of arms is to give way to the Golden Rule.

Governor Horace Hildreth,
State of Maine.

Mahatma Gandhi was a great human being.

Governor Wm. Preston Lane, Jr.,
State of Maryland.

Mahatma Gandhi was a great human being. whose teachings contributed much to the moral philosophy of the world.

His sincerity of purpose and his earnest desire to bring about moral and political reforms by peaceful means will long be remembered by the people of America, as well as by all the nations of the world.

Governor Thomas J. Mabry,
State of New Mexico.

I want to thank you for the opportunity to pay tribute to that great Indian Leader, Statesman and advocate of freedom, Mahatma Gandhi. The Mahatma gave his life for his people. He will be long remembered by all of the freedom-loving people of the world as a man who loved his country and his people.

I pay tribute to the undying memory of this great man.

*Governor J. Storm Thurmond,
State of South Carolina.*

It comes to but few men in the course of history to contribute so vitally to the uplifting of a people as did Mahatma Gandhi. He faced the age-old problems of prejudice, class hatred, religious bitterness, strife and discord, a seemingly impossible task. His untiring devoting to the cause of peace within his country and between the myriads of people seemed to many observers hopeless. He had no weapons but his faith and his patience. By self-sacrifice and tireless endeavor he wrought a change in the attitude of his fellow men. His tragic death brought to light how really great an impression he had made and hastened the recognition of the valuable service which he gave to mankind. There can be little doubt that Mahatma Gandhi will take his place among the Immortals.

*Governor Mon C. Wallgren,
State of Washington.*

The great man of peace was a symbol of goodness and an inspiration to lesser men all over the world.

It is a privilege to add a word in tribute to his memory.

*Governor Beauford H. Jester,
State of Texas.*

The spirit of meekness which characterized the Mahatma Gandhi, his humility, his passive but utterly fearless resistance to those whom he considered the oppressors of his people, evoke great admiration.

He could have rallied armies about him to battle to the death for his cause, but he knew that conviction born of principle would confound adversaries where arms could not.

He could have bartered his personal strength and influence for fabulous wealth and position, but the miseries of his people swayed the Mahatma that the opulences of empire could not touch; he was not for sale.

His life made dynamic the virtues of passivity and fidelity to principle; generations of men born in impenetrably remote aeons of the future will revere him as one of the immortal colossi, a granite character looming majestically out of the boundless mists of eternity.

*Governor Clarence W. Meadows,
State of West Virginia.*

Mahatma Gandhi won the affection and the esteem of the people of the United States as no representative of India has ever done in history and in a manner accomplished by no other citizen of the world. He was the great living exemplifier of the Golden Rule and demonstrated to all people that more can be accomplished by following its principles than by resorting to force of arms.

*Oscar Rennebohm, Acting Governor,
State of Wisconsin.*

PRESS

It was my pleasure to be in India in 1945 and to see the late Mahatma Gandhi and spend some time with his son, Devadas. I can truthfully say that I regard Gandhi as one of the great men our world has produced. His great spiritual and humanitarian qualities have been felt and appreciated all around the world, and I am confident that he and his influence will grow in power and appreciation through the centuries ahead. I am happy for the opportunity to record what I felt about him.

*Ralph McGill, Editor,
The Atlanta Constitution.*

Gandhi will be called a martyr. This is a word of Greek derivation and originally it meant a witness. In this sense it fits Gandhi accurately for his life was his testimony to the truth as he saw it.

The English word, however, has come to mean a man who dies for a cause in which he believes. Gandhi's cause was peace in brotherhood. Though he proved on many occasions that he

was willing to sacrifice his life for it, he was no martyr in the sense that he courted a violent death as the crowning glory of his career. He died for peace but he would much have preferred to live for it.

Certainly the title of martyr confers little distinction in this era of bestiality. The earth in our day has been strewn with millions of martyr's graves. There appears to be no limit to the toll of suffering and death which the so-called statesmen of the twentieth century have exacted and are exacting in the name of their dogmas and their lust for personal and national aggrandisement.

Gandhi's life was a protest against these follies and vanities and the cruelties committed in pursuit of them. To many men accustomed to gaining their ends by direct action, his march to the sea for salt, his emphasis on his spinning wheel, his asceticism, and his prolonged fasts seemed hopelessly impractical. If so, they were not so impractical that Gandhi failed to reach his goal of independence for the people of India.

Gandhi believed that national independence was good for men. That was a cardinal doctrine in his faith, but he did not believe that Indian independence was so great a good that everything else could be sacrificed to attain it. He therefore opposed the use of violence in gaining

his end. He would take blows but not give them. He believed that what he sought could be won by persuasion and example. Time may tell whether in this calculation he was right or wrong.

This much we know today: Gandhi's thinking was the antithesis of that of Hitler, Stalin, and all the rest of the bloody men who have exercised power in this generation. If Gandhi was right, they were wrong. If they were right, Gandhi was only an eccentric little Oriental, sitting half naked before a spinning wheel, who occasionally gave utterance to remarks which might have been cribbed from the New Testament.

Gandhi was in some sense a martyr and in almost every sense a saint. Was he also a statesman? To him more than to any other man the Indian people owe their independence. Will they prove worthy of it? Would they have proved worthy of it if he had lived? Will they prove worthy of it now that he is dead? We can ask the questions but only the Indian people can answer them.

Chicago Tribune.

Gandhi was the supreme individualist of our times. Yet his assassination rocks a subcontinent and stuns the world.

The veneration in which Gandhi was held even

by the ordinary Moslem was demonstrated during the cruel communal fighting of 1946. Then, with only one or two companions, he walked from village to village in the blood-drenched Moslem areas living for months among the peasants, pleading and praying with them for peace, safe and untouched wherever he went.

Gandhi was more than the leader of Indian nationalism—was, in fact, a world-wide symbol. For the world, too, has put increasing faith in violence. It has become impatient of change through individual enlightenment. It demands overt action—and quick! Alone among national leaders Gandhi has consistently said: “Turn the searchlight inward.”

His faith that the individual could move mountains through moral persuasion alone was borrowed from sources as diverse as the New Testament and that American archindividualist, Henry Thoreau. Yet in its ultimately Eastern form, as he developed it, it lacked the great contribution of Western thought: the sense of law.

He proved the moral force of a single man. Even as a martyr to the violence he repudiated he stands secure on that achievement and a cynical world is the better for his disturbing challenge. But India is the test of his ideals as it was the object of his devotion, and India can justify his faith in individual man only by setting itself the

hard task of learning and practising citizenship under law.

The Christian Science Monitor,
Boston.

The death of Mahatma Gandhi is at once an intensely Indian and an international event. Its effects can touch indirectly the life of every living person. And this is true because the assassin's bullets destroyed not merely a man but a vital force of the modern world—a spirit that had realized and made itself effective beyond any other in our time.

But if we cannot read the Indian heart, we can detect the uneasiness of our own minds. Few Americans today, however insulated, have escaped the realization that a life and death struggle between peace and black destruction dominates our world, our future. Gandhi was the only leader whose faith in peace was so great it became a tangible power, drawing the hostile factions of his people together. And in his sudden senseless defeat lies too shocking a symbol of what can happen to his cause everywhere.

This world-wide feeling of loss can be a futile thing or it can be a positive challenge. No one can tell whether the violence done to Gandhi will unleash enough evil to destroy the infant nations of India. But this is quite likely to happen unless we, as well as Indians, are awakened to the

urgency of the issue between international sanity and lunacy. Looking at the hole in our forces left by Gandhi's removal, we shall be criminally foolish unless we resolve individually and nationally to put forth effective efforts to compensate for this loss. Gandhi fought and won more battles than another man could manage by use of an inner force humanity has largely neglected. Perhaps further neglect means full disaster.

*The Courier-Journal,
Louisville.*

When all the tokens of greatness are added, the sparrow of a man who died at an assassin's hand in India was probably the greatest of our lifetime.

Hitler, in his brief career of violence, ruled with brutal force. Stalin, his successor as the apostle of the total state, has turned his nation—as he would turn the world—into a vast prison camp.

But the wizened, little Mohandas K. Gandhi exerted his tremendous influence through the powers of love and nonviolence. The spiritual force wielded by this man turned the course of history. By the power of an idea alone, he welded the shapeless millions of Indians into a movement which was one of the great factors in crumbling the mighty British empire.

The Denver Post.

Great-souled Mohandas Gandhi is dead, shot by an assassin of his own Hindu faith because he loved all mankind and not just Hindus. He died a failure in his own eyes, because he did not succeed in leading his people and the world into the paths of non-violence.

In the eyes of much of the world, he was a huge success. Did he not, with his fasts and his burning words, his loin cloth and his spinning wheel, upturn the peacock throne of the Emperor of India? Did he not by sheer moral force oust the mightiest of all India's conquerors?

Gandhi's greatness does not lie in the numbers he influenced in his lifetime (though few have ever been so beloved by so many). His greatness does not lie in the history he made, or the political institutions he molded.

His followers rightly sensed from the beginning that he was more than a lawyer, more than a party leader, more than a founder of a great nation: More than all these, he was a religious teacher, of a stature the world does not see once in a century.

The Des Moines Register.

"Half politician, half saint," is the way Pandit Nehru, India's prime minister, once described Mahatma Gandhi. And perhaps a saint must be part politician if he is to accomplish any good

among the ignorant, the misguided, the prejudiced people of the world. In any event, whether saint or politician or both, this frail, homely understanding man threw his whole life into the cause of Indian liberty and Indian peace, and his successes have astonished the world.

More than any other man, Gandhi can be called the father of his country—the spiritual father and the political father. More than any other man he was responsible for the final departure of the British from Indian rule. And more than any other man he has kept at least the promise of peace among Hindu, Sikh and Moslem alive and growing. His spiritual power over the Indian people was almost unbelievable in its sweep.

Perhaps it is ironical that this man who preached peace, understanding and non-violence should die of an assassin's bullet. Yet, like Lincoln who died assured that the Union of the United States would be preserved, Gandhi died knowing that India was free, and could somehow work out her destiny alone.

Though Gandhi is dead, the spirit of this humble man will live forever; not only in the history of free India, but in the history of human understanding and spiritual dignity. The meaning of his name truly measured the quality of his life—Mahatma, "great souled one." May that

“great soul” find in death the peace he sought in life for all his fellow men.

The Indianapolis Star.

Long before he died, however, the moral stature of this modest little Indian was warmly acknowledged by men of good will throughout the world. Many years ago Gandhi was asked how Moslem-Hindu unity could be promoted in India. He replied: “The answer is simple. It consists of our having a common goal and common sorrows. A common goal we have. We wish this country to be greater and self-governing. We have enough sorrows to share.” To those common sorrows of all Indians, irrespective of religion, now has been added the death of a man whose power sprang, in part, from the fact that he did not fear death.

The Kansas City Star.

In order to cut him down to the dimensions of our experience, we of the West may soon be tempted to “debunk” Gandhi, to restudy his weaknesses and “place” him in the political history of these times. But let us start with one fact: Gandhi was not just a “great man”; he was a universal saint, something the West has not produced for many generations. He was, as John Haynes Holmes said, in “that unbroken line of saints and seers, running like the stitches of a golden thread through the tangled pattern of

human affairs, who have insisted that man, like God, is spirit, and can achieve his ends, and thus fulfill his life." Holmes ranks him in this line with Jesus, Buddha and St. Francis.

Transcending his own Hindu faith, Gandhi found truth and some error in all religions. So it may someday be found that he himself expressed their greatest common denominator and was the prophet of a world faith. At any rate his importance and meaning to mankind are religious in the strictest sense. He was born into the age when human thought, impelled by Marx and Darwin, took its massive turning toward materialism all over the world. Of the three history-making revolutionaries of this age—Gandhi, Lenin and Sun Yat-sen—he alone repudiated materialism and admitted no trace of it in his teachings. He alone sought to make a revolution not in how men live or what they think but in how men live or what they think but in how they think and why they live.

At the Inter Asian Relations Conference in New Delhi, Gandhi told the delegates of 25 Asian peoples how they could "complete the conquest of the West"—not by vengeance but by love. "If you want to give a message to the West, it must be a message of love, it must be a message of truth." Since the West has been forcing messages on Asia for several centuries—

messages of law, literacy, steam, steel, voting, etc.—It is only to be expected that the return message, as Toynbee warns us, will have considerable force behind it too. If our Western civilization is as strong as we think it is, it will welcome and absorb this message and continue the exchange of messages until the worlds are one in fact as in spirit. And though it is at best premature to call Gandhi's "colossal experiment" a failure, we may start formulating a reply to the colossal question mark that encircles his violent death and spots with blood the nation he brought to birth.

Both Toynbee and Professor Northrop (*The Meeting of East and West*) have pointed out what seems, to Western eyes, an ambiguity or contradiction in Gandhi's career. He skillfully employed a lot of the apparatus of Western politics—newspapers, radio, money, mass meetings, etc.—to build his Congress party, whose purpose was to make India a nation on the Western political model. But the principle to which he appealed was not a political but a spiritual principle. And while spiritual principles are indispensable to the building of any great nation, East or West, they are not and cannot be an entire substitute for political theory in a modern democratic nation.

As for Gandhi, his final greatness will be

voiced not through the nation he sought to create but in the aspiring hearts of all men in all nations and all future times.

Life.

“What is the good of having the murderer? It’s like Lincoln’s death; they had the man who killed him, but they didn’t have Lincoln.”

In these simple words a grade school boy summed up the assassination of Gandhi. A Protestant minister looked at the headline, “Mahatma Gandhi Slain . . .” and tears welled into his eyes. A hard boiled newspaperman said: “They killed Socrates, they killed Christ, they killed Lincoln and now they kill Gandhi.”

The saintly little wisp of a man was killed for his goodness. He was killed by a man of a Hindu group that does not believe in peace between sects and between religions. He was killed because his assassin could not understand Gandhi’s essential quality, which, even in his dying moment, made him raise his hand in the Hindu sign of forgiveness for his own murderer. As on Calvary—“Father, forgive them, they know not what they do.”

Few times in the world’s history has the passing of any man caused such widespread sorrow. For he embodies the essence of selfless moral leadership, not only to countless millions of his own

followers but to millions of persons in every country of the world.

No wonder that prime ministers and presidents now honor him in death, that generals and statesmen pay him tribute. Even the "little people of the streets" had a feeling of affection for "the funny guy in the three cornered pants." No wonder that men who joined with him in years of strife respect him with the rest. They, above all, know his selfless quality. They, doing their duty, had to cope with Gandhi doing his, as he saw it.

He knew the western world, but he was not of it. He was greatly inspired by Christianity, but he did not espouse it. He remained, as he had started, a Hindu and an Indian, dedicating his life to his people—all of his people.

The Milwaukee Journal.

Mohandas K. Gandhi was one of those spiritual giants who appear all too rarely in a world which stands in constant need of the teaching and example they alone can give.

Gandhi would be assured a place among the immortals had his activities been limited to the quest of the good life. Even though ordinary people do not imitate the way of life of such a great teacher, they instinctively appreciate his qualities and hold him in corresponding esteem.

But Gandhi was a practical politician as well as a great soul. He led his people to political freedom. Since few individuals in history have accomplished so much for so many, this feat also ranks Gandhi among the great men of all time.

We salute the memory of a man who showed what heights men can scale if they but try hard enough.

Minneapolis Morning Tribune.

Gandhi, a homespun-cotton-clad cartoonist's dream with a toothless grin and bony "diapered" body, has symbolized India itself for 25 years.

Newsweek.

There was pride in his very humility and simplicity. His heart was sometimes more potent than his mind.

But it was Gandhi the saint who will be remembered, not only on the plains and in the hills of India but all over the world. He strove for perfection as other men strive for power and possessions. He pitied those to whom wrong was done: the East Indian laborers in South Africa, the untouchable "Children of God" of the lowest caste in India, but he schooled himself not to hate the wrongdoer.

Gandhi's critics may say that the spirit he stirred up, arousing in the Indian people a new sense of dignity, aroused in them also the in-

stinct of combat. Certainly he shook the old caste society of Hindu India to its foundations when he introduced the liberating force of Western ethics. It was a Hindu who killed him, a Hindu who threw a bomb near Birla House ten days ago. But good-will and compassion flowed from him like a fountain. The power of his benignity grew stronger as his political influence ebbed. He tried, in the mood of the New Testament, to love his enemies and do good to those who despitefully used him.

Now he belongs to the ages.

He has left as his heritage a spiritual force that must in God's good time prevail over arms and armaments and the dark doctrines of violence.

The New York Times.

A man of peace, Gandhi was never able to find peace. But he will go down in history as one of the great spiritual leaders of our times, a humanitarian who loved—and lived for—his fellow man, an indomitable fighter for causes he deemed just.

The title "Mahatma" given him by his people and meaning the "Great-Souled One" was well deserved. He was great-souled. He was unworldly. He put into practice in the teeming cities of India the precepts of Christ's Sermon on the Mount.

The Philadelphia Inquirer.

Gandhi is dead . . . yet no one can doubt that he will live forever. Not spiritually, that is, but in the memory and in the records of mankind as long as Earth is peopled. For there can be no doubt of his greatness. His shriveled, brown-skinned little body, now the more pitiable because of its shocking wounds—the remnant of mortal clay that now receives the honors no earthly king could command—was the abiding place of a soul whose motives were pure beyond question. His peaceful achievements for his people will be recalled when the conquests of Genghis Khan and Caesar have faded from human memory.

The modern world's outstanding apostle of the doctrine of non-violence was called during his lifetime "Mahatma," a saint, a holy man. The centuries to come may see him elevated to the rank of deity. Martyrdom often brings veneration, if not actual worship, but this man commanded the reverence and adoration of hundreds of millions before he met his fate at the hands of a miserable assassin.

It seems strange to us of the Occident that one frail little man could, on various occasions, by merely threatening to starve himself to death, cause millions of his fellows to cease their internecine warfare. He now has met the inevitable from which they sought to save him. All their

efforts for peace, all their sheathing of the sword, could not shield him from a murderer's bullets. Of him it may be said that "he laid down his life for his people."

What may result is that the people of all sections, all religions will eventually be led by Gandhi's example and the memory of his ideals to settle their differences forever. It is "a consummation devoutly to be wished."

The Phoenix Gazette.

The shame spread through the world with the news of Gandhi's murder. The event brought the shock of recognition, rather than the shock of surprise. More forcibly than anyone in his age, Gandhi had asserted that love was the law; how else should he die but through hatred? He had feared machines in the hands of men not wise enough to use them, had warned against the glib, the new, the plausible; how else should he die, but by a pistol in the hands of a young intellectual?

The world knew that it had, in a sense too deep, too simple for the world to understand, connived at his death as it had connived at Lincoln's. The parallel between Gandhi's martyrdom and Lincoln's was close and obvious. Each went down in the hollow between the crest of political victory and the crest of moral defeat. And Gandhi's ashes were not cold before the world had begun to vulgarize his saintliness (as it had vul-

garized Lincoln's) by insisting, against the facts, that there was no vulgarity in him. The world finds it hard and self-shaming to believe that truth can be glimpsed from the earth; its heroes must be projected into a nebulous world of "mysticism."

In the little circumstances surrounding Gandhi's death, in the sordid surroundings of his funeral, there were hints of the real Gandhi, the Gandhi who did not escape reality but pursued it in the teeth of all the windy words like "power" and "progress."

When Mahatma Gandhi was in London in 1931 to plead for Indian independence, a small girl started to ask for his autograph. Then she drew back shyly before the strange little dhoti-clad man with a cavernous mouth, jutting ears and scrawny neck. She looked up at her mother and asked: "Mummy, is he really great?"

Last week the answer from all continents was a fatuous yes. The answer missed the point; Gandhi was a rarer human being—a good man. He disturbed people by his goodness. He called himself "a Hindu of Hindus," and yet he put many a professing Christian to shame. "The spirit of the Sermon on the Mount," wrote the man who fitted the rubrics of the Beatitudes more comfortably than most Christians, "competes almost on equal terms with the Bhagavad-Gita for the domination of my heart."

From the Russian pacifist Count Leo Tolstoy and the American hermit-naturalist Henry David Thoreau, Gandhi learned the doctrines of non-violence and deliberate, organized disobedience to unjust power. He said it was better to be poor and secure with a home spinning wheel than to be less poor and frightened with a great steel mill. He combined the elements into a belief of Christlike simplicity: oppose hate with love, greed with openhandedness, lust with self-control; harm no feeling creature. Of material progress, he said: "I heartily detest this mad desire to destroy distance and time."

Some dared to hope that Gandhi's injunction to abhor violence might take on added force from his martyrdom.

The hope was slim. In his lifetime his fellow men had sensed that Gandhi had a great message; of what the message was, they had scarcely an inkling. Gandhi, by the manner of his death, told them a little more of what he had been trying to communicate—but not enough to make them live as he had tried to. The world which revered few men had revered him—but not enough to follow where he pointed. The world was ashamed, and bewildered.

Time.

PUBLIC

A great warm light has been extinguished with the death of Gandhi. Gandhi died as he lived, seeking through understanding and compassion and love to absolve the ignorant and bigoted and self-seeking. His convincing gospel saved men in spite of themselves. His spirit reached for the stars and sought to win a world without gun or bayonet or blood. Out of his love of God and his fellow-men, he forged a political weapon. He glorified the chains and jails of his captors into the shining ornaments of martyrdom. Mahatma Gandhi cannot die, his spirit is free to stir men's souls in every corner of the earth. As we, mothers of the earth, stand in awesome fear of the roar of jet planes, the crash of atom bombs and the unknown horrors of germ warfare, we must turn our eyes in hope to the East where the sun of the Mahatma blazes.

Mary Bethune.

Gandhi's death, brought about by one of his own people, is another crucifixion. Our home is not alone in its mourning. All over the country,

all over the world, people, who never saw Gandhi in the flesh, mourn him now. He dies at a moment of unique influence.

It was only a few days ago that we were remarking about the rising interest in Gandhi among Americans. He had won great reverence.

Real reverence for Gandhi was embedded in the hearts of the people and it had begun to dawn on us that he was right. Here, in the midst of our mounting militarism, we were beginning to look towards Gandhi as the man who was right. Our newspapers recognized this new force. India won much by this. We were all moved by the struggle led by Gandhi for a peaceful way of settling differences between nations.

Pearl S. Buck.

There is still some hope for the world which reacted as reverently as it did to the death of Gandhi. The shock and sorrow that followed the New Delhi tragedy shows we still respect sainthood even when we cannot fully understand it. There are striking parallels between the life of Gandhi and Jesus as recorded in the New Testament. Like Jesus, Gandhi was the quintessence of the man of peace and like Jesus he met a violent death.

Albert Deutsch.
in the P.M. of New York.

Everyone concerned in the better future of mankind must be deeply moved by the tragic death of Mahatma Gandhi. He died as the victim of his own principle, the principle of non-violence. He died because in times of disorder and general irritation in his country, he refused armed protection for himself. It was his unshakable belief that the use of force is an evil in itself, that therefore it must be avoided by those who are striving for supreme justice to this belief. With this belief in his heart and mind, he has led a great nation on to its liberation.

He has demonstrated that a powerful human following can be assembled not only through the cunning game of the usual political maneuvers and trickeries, but through the cogent example of a morally superior conduct of life.

"The admiration for Mahatma Gandhi in all countries of the world rests on recognition, mostly sub-conscious recognition, of the fact that in our time of utter moral decadence, he was the only statesman to stand for a higher level of human relationship in the political sphere. This level we must, with all our forces, attempt to reach. We must learn the difficult lesson that an endurable future of humanity will be possible only if also in international relations decisions are based on law and justice and no one self-righteous power, as they have been up to now."

Albert Einstein.

Gandhi's individualism rests on faith in man. "Do or die" is his favorite slogan.

At seventy-eight, against a million odds, Gandhi went into a blood-drenched area poisoned by hate and passion to deal with the difficult problem of Hindu-Moslem unity. He moved some offenders to repent; others, among them murderers, surrendered to him or to the police; others gave money in expiation. He did not solve the problem, but the least he could do was to do the most he could.

Given a shelf of freedom on which to stand, and using the crowbar of individual power, Gandhi undertakes to move the earth. Few can be Gandhis, but one touch of Gandhi in each of us would add up to enough moral strength to defeat all the Stalins in Moscow and all 50 per cent Stalins and Hitlers, and 10 per cent and 2 per cent Stalins and Hitlers who dwell in the democracies and detract from the purity of democracy.

Defeating Stalin with Gandhi is the way to personal freedom and personal decency, and therefore to democracy, and therefore to peace.

Turn the searchlight inward.

*Louis Fischer,
in "Gandhi and Stalin."*

I am thinking of the panorama of my own life—of what I have seen in a ministry of more than forty years. Through all these years I have lived

in a society which has placed its one hope of security in an ultimate reliance upon physical force. It has sought personal security in vengeance and the law and national security in vengeance and the sword. Steadily, through all these years, I have seen the world grow not secure but ever more insecure as weapons have grown more powerful and war has succeeded war until today we behold the atomic bomb and the imminence of doom. What has force done to us but bring us face to face with fear, even unto death?

At the same time, through these many years, I have seen another phenomenon—a queer little brown man, clad only in a loincloth, called by a contemptuous Englishman, “a half-naked fakir,” proclaiming the gospel of non-violence and love. I have seen this frail and feeble man lead a revolt of coolies in South Africa against a powerful and well-armed government and win them emancipation from injustice and oppression. Yet he struck no blow, shed no blood, and resorted to no violence or force. I have seen this man challenge the might of the greatest empire that the world has known and emancipate hundreds of millions of his fellow-countrymen from its despotic rule. Yet, he held no office, possessed no money, headed no armies, and fought no battles. I have seen this man, the last few months, face the fierce crisis of a civil war and by sheer per-

sonal influence bring a distracted people back into the ways of peace.

I saw Gandhi only a few weeks ago before his death. I stood with him on the ground where he was shot. I followed him along the grassy path where he fell beneath his wounds. I talked with him in the room where later he was to die. In the utter simplicity of this little man it was hard to discern the secret of his power—hard, that is, for eyes which looked without but not for eyes which saw within. The Mahatma's secret was the spirit. He believed that spirit is a reality. He trusted it as more potent than the sword. He lived in it as love in the midst of hate, as forgiveness in the midst of vengeance, as good in the midst of evil.

The spirit which is God within the soul of man—this can overcome the world. Here was Gandhi's secret, which he called "truth." In his own faith and practice he proved it to be truth; and we must accept it if we would live. It is the atom bomb or Gandhi—choose ye this day which ye will serve!

John Haynes Holmes,

In the life and death of Mahatma Gandhi we have seen re-enacted in our time the supreme drama of humanity. Gandhi was a political leader and he was a seer, and perhaps never before on so grand a scale has any one sought to shape the

course of events in the world as it is by the example of a spirit which was not of the world as it is.

Gandhi was a political leader transformed in the renewing of his mind, he was not "conformed to this world." Yet he sought to govern turbulent masses of men who were still very much conformed to this world, and have not been transformed. He died by violence as he was staking his life in order to set the example of non-violence.

Walter Lippmann.

When history assigns Mahatma Gandhi his place it will, I believe be among the great spiritual leaders of all time.

Gandhi-Ji was by friend—the friend of all humanity, for that matter. He was indeed a holy man whose outlook was not restricted by race or dogma. His whole code was summed up in goodness, and he took it where he found it.

His own life encompassed not only Hinduism, in which he was born, but Christianity, Moham-
medanism, and other religions. And he once told me that the greatest influence in his life has been Christ's Sermon on the Mount. That provided the code which the little mahatma followed.

*Dewitt Mackenzie,
AP Foreign Affairs Analyst.*

The three ruling principles of Gandhi's life were—Truth, Love, *Brahmacharya* or disciplined control of all the senses. Of his principle of *Satyagraha* (Truth plus Firmness), which has been erroneously interpreted by the West as "passive resistance." We in the West, who sit daily under the shadow of war, should at least make the effort to explore this principle, for it presents a challenge both to our Christianity and our humanity. If soul-force can work—and its effectiveness has been proven—why do we hesitate to put in practice that which is a derivative of our own religion? Can it be that the moral leadership of the world is passing to the East?

Clifford Manshardt,
in *The Terrible Meek*.

An old man was murdered, and the whole world was shaken.

This old man had no possessions; he had no position. His life was worth nothing to him; and his death did not bother him. But the world was shaken because, without an army, a navy, an air force, without a stick or a stone, without power or patronage, he pulled down the pillars of an empire and brought freedom to a subcontinent of four hundred million unarmed people.

To most white men he was a comical, certainly an unrealistic, figure. Alongside the strong men of our age—the Roosevelts, Churchills, and Stal-

ins—he was unimpressive in his shawl and his loincloth. But the meek were once told that they would inherit the earth; and now men everywhere are wondering whether this meekest of men may not have been the strongest man of our age. Millions of people followed him without benefit or promise of benefit. They followed him to prison and to prayer and to freedom.

Milton Mayer,
author, and member of the Great Books
Foundation.

Gandhi will be accepted as one of the foremost emancipators in human history. His memory, even as his record, will be an inspiration to all who seek the happy amalgam of statesmanship and idealism. It will also teach man, in the West as well as in the East, that it is important to repose confidence in those leaders who aspire to a world of peace.

Rabbi David H. Panitz.

There will be no time in India when the life and death of Mahatma Gandhi are not carried in the consciousness of the Indian people and even of casual visitors to India as a part of the meaning of existence. In one sense this is equivalent to saying that the death of the man is the birth of the god, and such is indeed the ultimate truth taught by Hindu religion and philosophy. But the most immediate aspect of the phenom-

enon, which confronts us every day in India during these weeks of aspiration and ennoblement, is that men everywhere in the vast country are trying to do what they think the Mahatma would have wanted them to do.

In all this we see and will continue to see for a long time to come the chain of reaction of the conscience and heart of man. It is the greatest victory of which modern history contains any record, the victory of peace and love, the ultimate resplendent triumph of Mahatma Gandhi.

Vincent Sheean.

Mahatma Gandhi died for that cause of enlightened rule seeking to unite men in brotherhood, as surely as Christ died for the same truths 2000 years earlier. And in his sacrifice he has felt a testament which immensely strengthened all men here who honestly strive to live by Gandhi's teachings.

*Edgar Snow,
in The Saturday Evening Post.*

At a time when ruthless violence often seems the final Lord of Life, Gandhi, perhaps more effectively than any man in history, bore testimony to the power of the spirit.

*Norman Thomas,
Leader of The Socialist Party of U.S.A.*

Gandhi held no political office in India, yet he was the most powerful figure in the govern-

ment. The slight, wrinkled, 79-year-old man in a white loin cloth, who was often called "the Architect of Free India," a living saint, and the greatest Indian since Buddha, seldom occupied himself with day to day affairs, but when he did he got his way.

Robert Trumbull.

Recent creation of Asian Union under leadership of Pandit Nehru is an inevitable flowering of Mahatma Gandhi's work. As time goes on, a war-torn world will of necessity turn more and more to the principles of peace for which Gandhi gave his life.

*Walter White, Secretary,
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People.*

Mahatma Gandhi was many things. He was the father of his country in a much more basic sense than Washington was the father of ours. He took a country which had almost lost its soul—certainly its self-respect—and gave it dignity and faith. He reached into the heart of the Indian peasant—only he could do it—and millions of men and women dared to walk upright and believe in their own destiny. Mahatma Gandhi freed India by an act of will long before proclamations were read out in London and New Delhi.

Gandhi, the symbol, is so overwhelming that we forget Gandhi, the man. He was neither the comic figure nor the puritan that many people thought him. He was, indeed, a completely charming person with a wonderful sense of humor. He loved being alive and he loved people. His vitality and radiance would light up the poorest and humblest place. If he had not been killed, he would no doubt have lived "the full span of life—125 years", as he put it a few days before his death, "doing service to humanity till the last moment." Such vitality follows its own laws.

But his death was in a sense inevitable. It was the death of Jesus and of Lincoln and of the other great martyrs straining between heaven and earth. As his life had a profound meaning for us, so does his death, for in his dying he has posed a fundamental problem for us all, the choice between our humanity and our bestiality. How could it have been otherwise?

*Hazel Whitman,
in The Socialist Call.*



Dr. Pasupuleti Gopala Krishnayya

Dr. Krishnayya is undoubtedly the most sought out oriental speaker on the American lecture platform today. He has addressed numerous Colleges, Universities, Seminaries, High Schools, Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, Women's Clubs and various other cultural organizations in this country.

Dr. Krishnayya belongs to the House of Trimul Naick whose descendants ruled over the greater part of southern India and Ceylon for nearly five hundred years before the British occupation. The monuments and temples of this illustrious house are still the wonder of tourists and archeologists.

Having graduated from the University of Madras in India he taught for some years at Pachiyappa's College affiliated to it and was actively associated with all nation building activities in his part of the country. For some time he held the coveted Kings Commission as an officer in the British Army, one of the few Indians thus honored.

He is widely traveled and has extensively spoken on the platform and over the radio. He had a brilliant record at Columbia and New York Universities as a graduate student and research scholar. Articles from his pen have appeared in leading papers and journals in his homeland and here and besides he is the author of some scholarly books and pamphlets. He was for a while president of the Hindustan Association, the premier Hindu organization in this part of the world. He is now General Editor of The Orient & World Press and Managing Editor of "The India and U. S. A. News Service," a news syndicate having as clients some influential papers in the U. S. A., India and Pakistan.

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